

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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2,000 teenagers applaud High Commissioner's wife as she speaks of

THE MORAL COURAGE TO DISARM

From Ted Berrow

TWO THOUSAND scholars and students grappled with the world's problems at the "Citizens of Tomorrow" conference held at Central Hall, London, December 27 to 30. The question of unilateral disarmament and pacifism was among those which provoked considerable interest.

"What would be the effect on other nations if Britain were to disarm completely?" a student asked the attractive Begum Shaista Ikramullah, wife of the High Commissioner for Pakistan.

She replied, thoughtfully and spontaneously, "It would be an act of great courage and faith. No nation in history has ever had the faith to do that."

She then referred to changes from the British Empire toward a Commonwealth of Nations, implying that that change might be followed by further and more radical changes, as unilateral disarmament.

"If the peoples of Great Britain ever reach the level of moral courage to disarm, I think the effect would be terrific!"

An enthusiastic resounding applause followed that statement.



"Our dictionary lists 'peace' as vulgar term for a period between wars."



Los Angeles jail picketed in conscription protest

From DAVID McREYNOLDS

THE Los Angeles County Jail, California, was picketed on December 10 by twenty Americans demanding freedom for Vern Davidson, who began his three year sentence on December 5 for refusing military service.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Los Angeles Socialist Party, supported by pacifists and members of the Independent Socialist League. Over 1,000 leaflets were distributed. Two young men, just discharged from the Army, on learning about the case joined the demonstration.

Judge Westover had turned down a request from J. B. Tietz, attorney for the defence, that probation be granted since Davidson was already engaged in work of public importance in the State Hospital at Berkeley, California. This request had been made following the second refusal of the Supreme Court to review the case, reported in Peace News last week.

Must believe in "Supreme Being"

Judge Westover's action ended a three year legal struggle which had won national support from pacifists and socialists, including A. J. Muste and Norman Thomas.

The crucial point in the Davidson case was the requirement of the US conscription law that conscientious objectors must believe in a "Supreme Being" to be given legal exemption. Davidson, an agnostic, charged that the law was a violation of the separation of church and state and discriminated against political, humanitarian and philosophical objectors.

Los Angeles Socialists have asked that concerned individuals and organisations write to Judge Westover, Federal Building, Los Angeles, California, urging that the three year sentence be reduced to the time served and that Davidson be released on probation. Such letters must be received by February 5. Appeals are also being made to President Eisenhower to grant a pardon.

There have been three members of the Socialist Party arrested since 1953. Davidson, a Socialist leader in California, is the first member to be imprisoned for refusing military conscription. Two other young Socialists were also arrested for refusing to be conscripted.

THE DAWN OF A NEW HOPE

Abundance can be created for hungry millions

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

"This century will be known, not as the atomic age, but as the age when for the first time since the dawn of history man has dared to hope that the benefits of civilisation will have been employed to assist mankind the world over."

THE 2,000 "Citizens of Tomorrow" having earlier listened to some of the grimmest facts of the world today, burst into overwhelming applause at these words from Mr. J. H. Anderson, Director, Eastern Province, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. He was speaking on "Man Against Poverty" at last Thursday's session of the conference.

"I am speaking," he said "of that unimaginable poverty, where four out of five never earn the equivalent of 10s. a week, where man is poor in science and ignorant of technical skills, with no protection against the most horrible forms of disease, no opportunity to reach to the full dignity of a human being, no hope to live his own life or raise his standard of living—where three out of four drag out their short unhappy lives within the four walls of Hunger, Disease, Poverty and Ignorance."

"Holding on to life a little longer"

"There are in the world today," he continued "26,000 more people than when you went to bed last night; when you go to bed tonight they will have been joined by yet another 52,000. The birth-rate is rising fastest where the food is shortest. Everywhere people are holding on to life a little longer; there are 30 million more folk in the world every year."

During the last war, he pointed out, a tremendous increase took place in the food production of the Western world—where men were already well-fed. And so the gap widened between the well-fed West and the rickety, under-nourished folk on the other side.

Two out of three who lived on that other side would be hungry, 20 out of every 100

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Photo: News Chronicle

RITCHIE CALDER THERE NEVER WAS ATOM SECRECY

Peace News Reporter

IT is lend-lease, and lend-lease in reverse."

That was how Ritchie Calder described help to the under-developed countries, when speaking on the subject "Men against Ignorance" at the "Citizens of Tomorrow" conference last week.

There must never be "we" and "they," but always "us," he added.

Western man could give to the under-developed countries knowledge and technical skill; but he could apply that knowledge and skill only by borrowing experience from the peoples themselves. Only an Eskimo could tell Western man where to put ventilation with safety in an Eskimo home; only an Indian could break down the Hindu reluctance to acquiesce in the death of a mosquito.

"Western man can give scientific knowledge in exchange for something which I am afraid the West has lost: and that is wisdom," he said. "Science is not wisdom. Wisdom is science and knowledge to which judgment has been applied, and with which we have selected the things that are really worth while."

Speaking of atomic knowledge, and the fate of spies, he said "there really, never, ever, was a secret." At the "Atoms for Peace" conference at Geneva it had been shown that several groups on both sides had reached the

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BAN ALL ARMS TO MIDDLE EAST—says Frank Allaun MP

THE anonymous Liverpool dockworker who revealed the shipment of arms to Egypt has done a valuable job. What sickening hypocrisy he has exposed! The British Government, which has been protesting vociferously against the recent sale of arms from Czechoslovakia to Egypt, has been permitting it all the time itself. (And don't let us forget the millions of pounds worth of Vampire jet planes and other arms Britain is openly sending each year to Jordan.)

Today's Manchester Guardian (Jan. 3) tries to convince us that the arms for Egypt aren't much good anyway. Pardon my scepticism! The Egyptian Army Chiefs aren't fools. If the arms are of no use, immediately or after repairs, why on earth are they being bought?

The Labour Opposition is absolutely right

in demanding an immediate ban on these exports (which are continuing night and day) and the early recall of Parliament.

Meanwhile the tension between Israel and Egypt grows. It is just another result of the clash between Russia and America (with which Britain is wrongly tied up). Macmillan engineered the Bagdad Pact as a threat to southern Russian frontiers. So the Soviets sold arms to Egypt to keep her out of it.

This clash in the Middle East could lead to World War III. It must be ended. The British, French, American, and Russian Governments should confer right away to prevent an outbreak.

There should be a ban by all Powers on the sending of arms to any country in the Middle East.

FORECAST FOR 1956

By TOM WARDLE

ALMOST unnoticed, 1955 ended with one of the most significant developments since the war.

The United Nations ceased to be a cosy little get-together of the co-belligerents of World War Two, it became, sixteen times over, a more universal parliament, more genuinely a world forum.

To whom particularly must the credit for this go?

To "the nations between."

Behind the scenes, in front of the scenes, for years countries like India and Burma have been pressing for the inclusion of more states to full membership of the UN, holding that by this means it would become more of a sincere expression of world opinion, more capable and competent to act intelligently and impartially on international problems.

This is the latest in an unbroken series of international successes for peace that have been scored by the "backward" nations of S-E Asia in the last few years. 1956 could do with a bit more backwardness of that sort.

The Powers of East and West have not conceded to this demand out of a passion for world democracy or a love of justice.

The effect of neutrals

They have done so because the growing influence of the neutralist states have compelled them.

Both the Soviet bloc and the US bloc now realise that it is in the minds and on the soil of the peoples of Asia and Africa that the cold war must be fought out.

Global nuclear war may be ruled out (at least under circumstances of sanity), but the cold war has not ended. "Competitive co-existence" and other such charmingly bureaucratic terms mask the brutal reality of a war which is no less vicious because it is not fought with firearms.

One thing the Powers have not reckoned with exists however—and it provides the only strong hope for a solid-based peace philosophy emerging in our time. It is the fact that the peoples who are being used as pawns in the power game—the Indians, the Arabs, the Africans—refuse to be pawns.

They have ideas of their own, and some of them see that this very competition between the two warring sections of the world may be turned to good effect.

They have used their influence to bring wars to an end, in Korea and Indo-China. They have shaken the colonial powers by their pressure over South Africa and Algeria and Cyprus; they have encouraged competition between East and West in the provision of equipment and goods to their needy areas and they have rallied world opinion on H-bomb tests.

All this activity has two main origins. First, the fact that these nations have had no choice; they all need peace in which to develop, none of them could possibly benefit from a war between the Powers, and they are

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TOO BIG?

THERE was a moving article by Father Trevor Huddleston on Christmas in Africa in the Observer on December 25.

He points out that the significance of the day for Christians is "that God has become man," and "has shared human life in its fullness," and therefore, "each individual person has received a dignity and a value that are literally infinite."

He goes on to contrast this with conditions in South Africa, pointing out that there are white people who believe they are Christians, and therefore accept the worth of the individual, who nevertheless refuse to worship with black people whom they also believe to be Christians. The two groups therefore meet before separate altars.

Father Huddleston then remarks that men of goodwill seek refuge only too readily in the question: "But what can I do about it? The thing is too big for me."

That is the same objection the pacifist so often hears. It may be worthwhile to consider it in this first issue of Peace News for 1956.

The circumstances in South Africa and Britain are very different. But this same objection is made both to justify a passive acquiescence to the evil policies of the Strydom Government and to excuse acquiescence in the surrender of the democratic right of choice brought about by the bi-partisan political conspiracy that has in the last decade deprived the electorate of power over every important issue.

Equally in both cases acquiescence means an abdication of man's moral responsibility.

While in South Africa the political situation is essentially the same as that which we in Britain face (that of two ostensibly opposed parties carefully excluding the main moral issues facing the community from being pronounced upon), the way in which the average white man of good will there can assert himself is at once more simple and more difficult.

He can insist on treating a black man as an essentially equal human being and thus assert his moral will against the desire of the state powers to suppress it. But there it requires great courage to do this. Consistent action in South Africa is only possible for men of heroic stature. We in this country who can see what could be done by white people of good will to break the evil policies of the Strydom Government do not know whether we could make the sacrifice required to do that. We have not been tested and therefore we do not feel morally entitled to point the way for those who have to live in that tragic land.

BUT this moral difficulty does not exist for those who wish to witness against the acceptance of evil.

From the Editor's Notebook

Dame Kathleen

KATHLEEN LONSDALE is the second Peace Pledge Union Sponsor to become a Dame Commander Order of the British Empire, although the other holder of the title, Dame Sybil Thorndike, was created a DBE in 1931, three years before the founding of the PPU.

Announcing the New Year Honours, the Daily Telegraph referred to Prof. Lonsdale as "Britain's top atom woman"—a gross inaccuracy. She is head of the Department of Crystallography at University College, London University and has always made it clear that her work is not connected with atomic weapons (the public rightly assumes that Britain's "top atom" anything is cornered for atomic weapons, not for civil use).

Word they could not use

THE DAILY HERALD told its readers: "She is a Quaker who says: 'I stand for universal and complete disarmament.'"

They should, of course, have said "unilateral disarmament," but that phrase is probably on the Herald's black list.

The News Chronicle reported: "Professor Kathleen Lonsdale is proud of the fact that she went to jail."

"As a Quaker and pacifist she refused in 1943 to register for fire-watching. She in fact did her stint of fire-watching as a volunteer, but refused to register because the Act had no conscience clause."

"She was fined, refused to pay, and went to Holloway for a month."

brought us by the policy of British political bi-partisanship.

Every major decision that has governed this country's policy for the past decade has been taken without any reference of the issues involved to the people.

US bases were established here without consultation of the electorate.

Manufacture of the A-bomb was begun by Mr. Attlee's Government without even Parliament being consulted or informed.

This country's tie-up with the ever-growing network of military pacts is not a matter that has ever formed part of a contested policy at elections.

Similarly the manufacture and testing of the H-bomb has been decided upon without any consultation of the people.

In all these matters the British people have no more power than the people of Russia and Eastern Europe.

The implementation of these policies, however, does not require such direct participation by the average man as does the policy of apartheid. The man who knows that under no circumstances could he feel morally justified in committing another Hiroshima, let alone in becoming responsible for vastly greater human destruction by the H-bomb, is under no legal or social compulsion to himself to become one of the assistants of Sir William Penney, Director of Atomic Weapons Research.

It is not, therefore, upon our courage that the call is made if we do not wish to abdicate as responsible human beings before the increasing usurpations of centralised state power.

Our greater difficulty lies in finding ways in which to assert the individual right to and power of moral choice against a form of politics that seeks to deny these.

There is no adequate single way to do this. We have to avail ourselves of a variety of means, wherever they may appear.

Let pacifists keep in mind during the coming year that they are in the vanguard in the assertion of man's moral responsibility. And let them be constantly looking for means of bringing to the fore the great moral issues that politicians would smother.

Two freedoms that must be won

PEACE NEWS reported last week the verdict in the case of 27 pacifists arrested last June 15 for refusal on grounds of religion and conscience to take part in a New York Civil Defence Drill. Magistrate Bushel found us guilty on December 22 of having violated the New York State Emergency Civil Defence Act in refusing to "take shelter" when ordered, and then suspended sentence altogether without

It's a boy!

MOST of Kathleen Lonsdale's friends were expecting news of a different kind. Telephone calls which commenced "Have you heard..." brought the quick response "Is she a grandmother?"

As we go to press I learn that she is. It's a boy—born on Sunday.

No time to think about future

WHEN G. A. Pargiter, MP (Lab., Southall) drew attention in the Commons on December 1 to a Motion on the H-bomb tests, Sir Anthony Eden dismissed it with the sort of "feet-dragging" statement which is daily becoming more and more annoying.

The Prime Minister answered, "That is a matter for the Leader of the House, but I think that we have no more time available before Christmas to debate that Motion."

The Motion, signed by Mr. Pargiter and others, read:

"That this House deeply regrets the continued testing of atomic and hydrogen bombs by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America; believes that the deterrent effect of these weapons is disproportionate to the risks involved and further that the tests may be in themselves a danger to the human race; and requests Her Majesty's Government, therefore, to undertake not to proceed with these tests and to ask the Governments of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to act in a like manner."

IN PERSPECTIVE

Desert oil The call-up Foreign Policy Algerian Atrocity

"THE key to the recent campaign... in which the Imam of Oman was divested of his authority in the mountainous interior, is Fahud in the Omani desert, where British oil explorers are hoping to find valuable deposits."

Thus The Times' caption to its pictures of December 29.

Rarely has the commercial basis of imperialism appeared more naked as in The Times' description of the triumph of the Sultan of Oman over the Imam.

The Foreign Office discreetly described the incident as being entirely outside its concern and "in essence a policing action within the territory of the Sultan of Oman."

The Times has no such inhibitions. "The Sultan," it says, "with the encouragement of the British government has therefore ordered his forces to destroy the power of the Imam."

Rival companies

SINCE 1913, when they revolted against him, the Sultan has granted the tribes in this area virtual autonomy. Recently, however, local rivalry has been intense between the Sultan (backed by the Iraq Petroleum Company) and the ruler of Saudi Arabia (backed by the Arab American Oil Company).

Consequently, when the Imam showed signs of giving his allegiance to the latter, the Sultan decided to act.

He is, The Times says, "a far-sighted and much respected ruler (who with luck will soon be one of the richest men in the world)... (and) is in no mood to encourage any nibbling at his sovereignty."

Thus, in this petty action, in a forgotten corner of the world, the capitalist unashamedly moved the flag forward. No doubt the half a million inhabitants of the Sultanate will in the end be better off but (again The Times correspondent) "the chief immediate beneficiaries will be the Iraq Petroleum Company."

The Arab world will undoubtedly take note that the unity which the West unctuously urges upon the Middle East appears sometimes to be a curiously shopworn article.

Why 1958?

ACCORDING to the Manchester Guardian's preview of the Government's annual statement on "Defence," tentative plans have been made to drop National Service by 1958.

Naturally, all those who have opposed conscription will be glad to

see it ended, but the answer to the question, "Why wait till 1958?" emphasises the fact that although the Government would be doing the right thing, it would be from the wrong reason.

They will drop conscription not because they have recognised that it is morally indefensible in a democratic society and a denial of fundamental human rights, but because of a revised technique of "Defence" in which emphasis is laid on the need of instant readiness, which in turn demands a priority for atomic weapons and rapid troop movements by air.

The preference for a wholly Regular Service will bring better pay and conditions intended to stimulate recruiting.

No change

NO change of "Defence" policy is foreshadowed, and the Government still intends to base its foreign policy on adapting the British Army to the pace of hydrogen warfare and thus accelerate still further the race in atomic arms.

While, therefore, it will be all to the good when our young men are no longer compelled to learn how to destroy their fellow-men and undergo the serious break in normal life, the Government are still leaving them and their elders under the dire threat of destruction.

This threat can only be removed if both Government and people are prepared to abandon conscription now because it is morally wrong and to do so as part of a new foreign policy based upon unilateral disarmament.

Out of balance

ADDRESSING the young people gathered for the annual conference arranged by the Council for Education in World Citizenship in London last week, the new Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, spoke of the failure of both preventive wars and the policy of the balance of power to secure world peace, and urged support for the Government's policy as based on the principles of the United Nations.

In a sense all wars are preventive, and failure is not the result of a par-

ticular designation but of the nature of war itself.

No war can secure world peace only world chaos, as Mr. Selwyn Lloyd knows.

To the list of failures he should have added collective security, the warning which Korea gives against the attempt of UN to secure peace through violence.

Did Selwyn Lloyd mean it?

BUT despite the lip service paid to UN, British policy is still based upon maintaining a balance of power and often operates outside, if not in opposition to, the Charter of the United Nations, as witness NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad Pact.

The Government believes in balance of arms in the Middle East and its attitude to the H-bomb is based on a desire to maintain balance in atomic weapons.

Indeed, negotiation as equals replaced the older negotiation of strength.

Incidentally, Marshal Bulganin declared that it is wrong to assume that a balance of H-weapons between East and West automatically excludes the possibility of a thermonuclear war, and that the arms race was increasing the war threat.

If the Foreign Secretary really meant that balance of power has failed, it can no longer be a satisfactory basis for British foreign policy.

If war itself is destructive of the hopes of a peaceful world, the logic of his position would be unilateral disarmament.

A shot in the back

THE story that a French photographer, working in Algeria, had bribed an American agency, had bribed a French gendarme to shoot an Algerian in the back so that the incident could be used for journalistic purposes is a terrible one.

The denial from the photographer concerned (which appears to have received reliable confirmation) which the French authorities in Algeria have treated the incident makes the story even more terrible. For it appears that similar happenings may have been successfully covered up, or have been successfully secured from uninvolved witnesses and thus have had no need to be covered up.

The story—as it stands after the version of the photographer, M. Chagnon, has been disclosed—is that of Ain-Abid there had been a massacre of Europeans by Algerian "Maquis." Following this the Moslems of Ain-Abid had been ordered by the gendarmes to gather in an open space for identification, and it was announced that those who did not report in this way would be considered to be suspect.

The man who was killed had been found in a hut and was thus suspect, and the gendarmes had regarded the fact of his being suspect as giving them the right to shoot him without trial. He was not the only man who had not reported for identification who was killed in this way.

In Kenya too?

THIS incident, which occurred on August 22, was shown on the Fox newsreel, but was forbidden in France. The photographs appeared in the American magazine, Life, in October. Except for an isolated reference in one French journal the French public had been given no information about the matter until L'Express reproduced the photos on December 29.

It is evident that if the photographer had not been present nothing whatever would have been heard of what had been done.

When the French authorities in Algeria had their attention drawn to the photographs in Life at the end of October they claim that they set enquiries afoot to discover the gendarme but they had found difficulty in identifying either the man or the place, a claim that is clearly preposterous.

They kept complete silence so far as the French public were concerned, however, and it was they who, when the facts came out, put in circulation the charge that the gendarme concerned had been bribed by the photographer.

The moral of this horrible story for the British is not that they have any right to feel self-righteous in the matter.

It is that when this kind of warfare to suppress a people's desire for self-government is in progress crimes of this type only come to be heard of when the different levels in the hierarchy of repression are unable to prevent their disclosure from going further, and that for every atrocious thing that receives publicity there must be many about which nothing is ever heard.

How many of the incidents that led to Colonel Young's resignation in Kenya have been made known to the British public?

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s. Roosevelt, Lewis Mumford, A. J. Muste and others appeal to Eisenhower to "reaffirm basic democratic traditions."

AMNESTY URGED FOR U.S. COMMUNIST LEADERS

AMNESTY for 16 imprisoned U.S. Communist Party leaders and a postponement of the trials of 180 others awaiting trial court or appeals court decisions under the Smith Act was asked of President Eisenhower by 46 leading Americans.

The signers included: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Lewis Mumford, author; Elmer Rice, playwright and producer; Sidney Lens, author and labour leader; Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader; Henry Steele Commager, of Columbia University; Stephen G. Cary, secretary, American Section, American Friends Service Committee; Rev. John M. Krumm, chaplain, Columbia University; and Roland Watts, Secretary, Workers' Defence League.

The statement urged President Eisenhower to commute sentences of Communist leaders now in prison and use his influence to secure postponement of the 180 cases now pending in the courts (incorrectly stated as 100 in the first report carried by the London Press and Peace News).

The petition points out that the signers are in fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist Party and with essential elements of its programme. It stated that the signers were "motivated in their present action by their attachment to the democratic way of life and the desire to maintain and strengthen it."

Justice Black's dissenting opinion at the time of the Supreme Court's review of the convictions of the Communist leaders was also mentioned.

Meaning of the charges

He had pointed out that the CP leaders had not been charged with an attempt to overthrow the government, nor with any kind of non-verbal acts designed to overthrow the government, nor even with saying or writing anything designed to overthrow the government.

Further, he pointed out, they were charged with agreeing "to assemble and talk and publish certain ideas at a later date..." and the indictment is that they conspired to overthrow the Communist Party and to use each or newspapers and other publications to further the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government.

"The indictments and convictions in these cases," the amnesty letter stated, "were carried through in a period of the 'cold war' and in an atmosphere often marked by hysteria." Such an amnesty, the letter continued, would give impetus to the present movement in the U.S. to reaffirm "the basic democratic traditions of our country," and would encourage and inspire our friends throughout the world and win new friends.

The appeal mentioned that some of the imprisoned leaders are elderly and ill. The initiating group included A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, Dean John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary and Vice-Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, Charles R. Lawrence, National Chairman of the American For, Roy Finch,

New names for taverns

From a Correspondent
THE Rev. H. R. Chisnell, Rector of Acle, Norfolk, deprecates the lack of enterprise in innkeepers. They should seek brighter names. In old days innkeepers had no hesitation about moving with the times and changing the names of their houses: hence Lord Nelson and The Waterloo. He suggested that today there might be taverns named The Eighth Army or The Desert Rat. Other possibilities, of course, would be The Nagasaki.

GOOD NEWS

The response to the Peace Union's Headquarters appeal over Christmas was so good that our total is £974 without the final £100 we have promised.

With a few more days to run our books close on January 1, I am hoping that we may reach £1,100 and set up a record. We shall need £100 to reach the estimate and balance our books.

For very real gratitude to all whose gifts at Christmas have made this grand result possible from the donor of a cheque for £55 and £10, £5, and smaller amounts, to the donor of a postal order for 1s. 4d., not forgetting our anonymous benefactor who spurred us on with the offer of the final £100, and all who throughout the year have given so generously to the PPU Headquarters Fund.

This result is a very real encouragement to us and I hope will be an additional incentive to help us do even better in 1956, for 1955 has ended on such a fine note, the PPU goes on year in, year out and already planning increased activities for 1956. Once again our best thanks to all who have helped our Headquarters Fund in 1955, coupled with our hopes for 1956, and a very good New Year to one and all.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Amount received to date: £974
Amount promised: £100

Total: £1,074
Amount needed to reach £1,100: £26

Contributions to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent to "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, 10, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

National Chairman of the War Resisters' League and others. Many religious leaders and pacifists were among the signers of the appeal.

A similar appeal was made earlier by the National Council of the AFOR.

The Supreme Court has recently agreed to review of the convictions of Communist leaders in California.

THE RIGHTFUL DESTINY OF THE ATOM

CHAIRMAN of the United States Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, Senator Clinton P. Anderson, at Chicago on December 14, said that the atom's rightful destiny was "bringing blessings to the earth and uniting together those who labour in the tasks of peace."

He added, "Frightful as were the atomic blasts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, today the medical benefits of nuclear energy save more lives each year than those terrifying bombs destroyed."

Scientists estimate that within the foreseeable future, the atom will be harnessed for peaceful purposes which include:

The control, and perhaps the cure, of cancer of the brain, without surgery;
X-Ray treatment into remote areas of the body through radioactive cobalt;
Heating and lighting for whole communities;
Air-cooling for homes in hot climates;
Discovering of untapped resources of petroleum in the earth;
Controlling of forest tree diseases.

At a Danish Peace Conference in November nearly 1,000 participants passed resolutions condemning war as a means of settling international disputes, and appealing to the Government to urge United Nations banning of atom weapons and tests. This Government was also asked to cut down Danish military expenditure and to refuse to allow stationing of foreign troops in Denmark. Some of the money saved should be allocated to assistance of under-developed territories.

A new broadly-based national committee, including leading pacifists, was set up at the Conference.

Gandhian on world cycle tour

PROBABLY no one in that small cafe in cosmopolitan Bloomsbury recognised the lean brown Indian slowly sipping his milk at the bar.

He was Misrilal Jayaswal, one-time Gandhian fighter for Indian independence, who had just completed some 56,000 kilometres (35,000 miles), across three continents, on a round-the-world cycle tour for peace.

The language difficulty did not prevent his conveying to a member of Peace News' staff something of that keenness, sense of adventure and belief in world fellowship which had made for him friends in 27 countries, enabled him to cross all barriers unchallenged, (including that between East and West Germany), and to exchange messages with the leading figures in many of the world's capitals.

Below, we print an account of his journey by Ron Montagu, one of the first to welcome Mr. Jayaswal in London.

Colourful Indian cyclist, Mr. M. Jayaswal of Bihar Province rode into the City of London last month astride the machine that has so far carried him through 27 countries on the first, and major, stage of his round-the-world tour.

In his satchel were goodwill messages and greetings from prominent personalities he has met en route, including the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Edward Twining, the British Resident, Zanzibar, and others. His aim is "to strengthen the ties between India and countries of the World by carrying the message of Universal Brotherhood."

JUNGLE ADVENTURE

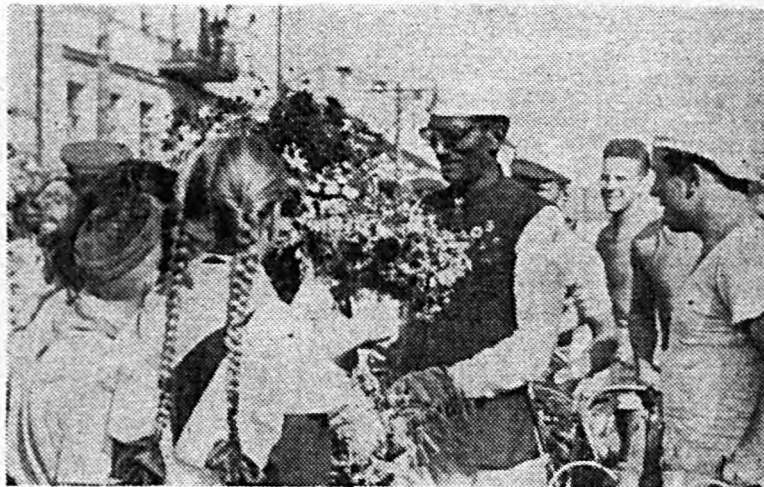
On his journey he has overcome every type of obstacle, encountered wild animals in the African jungle and crossed hundreds of miles of Egyptian desert. Political frontiers proved no difficulty either, "I simply told the Communists I was for Peace," he says, "and they let me in."

This applied in the cases of: Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland and the USSR.

In Denmark, special arrangements were made and after a Press conference, the Prime Minister of that country shook his hand wishing him "bon voyage!" Throughout his travels he has stressed his belief in the teach-



TOP: With Mr. H. C. Hansen, Danish Prime Minister. BOTTOM: On the way from Leningrad to Moscow. Photos: India News.



ing of Mahatma Gandhi—Peace, Tolerance, and Non-violence. Affixed to his cycle are three pennants:—the Union Jack, the Indian flag, and a scouting flag.

In a few months he proposes to make a tour of Britain before completing his circuit of the globe via Canada, the USA, South America and Australia, etc.

FELLOWSHIP PARTY ISSUE INTERIM POLICY STATEMENT

Renounce war, improve welfare, education and social ownership

THE Special Policy Committee of the Fellowship Party has issued the following interim policy statement which is to be submitted to the 1956 Annual Conference.

It is the result of the work of six committees—on World Affairs, Welfare, Government, Finance, Education, Industry, and Legal and Administrative—which have been meeting weekly.

Members of the Special Policy Committee are Stanley Bishop, Eric Fenner, Leonard Kilbey, John Loverseed, Ronald Mallone, George Onion, and Leonard Tomkinson.

World Affairs

(a) The Fellowship Party will work for the banishment of war from the earth, so that all men and women may live free from the fear of destruction, by renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, by refusing to manufacture nuclear and all other weapons; by the denial of British bases to other countries; by abolishing the Armed Forces; by abolishing existing stocks of weapons; and by refusing to trade in armaments of any kind.

(b) All military treaties and alliances will be cancelled, including commitments covered by NATO and SEATO.

(c) The right of self-determination will be granted to all peoples under British rule and the Party recognises that the same principles should apply to the colonies of other nations.

(d) Friendly relations will be established with all nations and peoples and the Party will seek by persuasion, education, and example, to abolish war throughout the world for ever.

(e) A policy of thorough-going co-existence will be developed with all countries, including the Communist bloc.

(f) The Peoples' Republic of China should be given a place of proper importance in all international conferences, including UNO.

(g) Aid in every way possible will be granted to the under-fed and under-developed peoples of the world, irrespective of race, colour, political system, or religion.

(h) The Party will seek to establish worldwide freedom of travel, without restriction of any kind.

(i) The Party will work for the development of a society giving equal status and opportunity, and affording freedom of the written and spoken word, association, and worship to all peoples, irrespective of sex, race, colour, or creed.

(j) The raw materials of the world should be used for the benefit of humanity as a whole.

The Fellowship Party will be replying in next week's Peace News to the "Open Letter to the Fellowship Party" from Ivan Geffen which appeared in Peace News last week.

whole. No country should exploit another because of its supply of raw materials.

Welfare

(a) Health. The social services will be expanded to ensure the well-being of all and to provide for their needs in sickness, distress, and adversity. The health services will be developed so that all forms of treatment will be available to everyone without charge.

More hospitals will be built and nurses' pay increased.

Priority will be given to research into the prevention of disease, which will be financed by government grant, and to the provision of health centres.

(b) Housing. The party are in favour of public ownership of land, excluding a fixed minimum allowed to each individual for his own house.

Everyone must be assured of a comfortable home. Houses and flats of sound construction, good design, and pleasing location should be built to satisfy the needs of all.

(c) Pensions and National Insurance. The National Insurance scheme should be maintained and improved where possible, but the present system of compulsory contributions shall cease and the service become a charge on the exchequer.

Unemployment benefits, sickness benefits, and pensions will be increased so as to ensure an adequate living standard, thus abolishing the need for Public Assistance.

(d) Transport. Rail, air, sea, and road services should be regarded as public services and financed, where necessary, from the Exchequer.

The system of automatic signalling should be introduced immediately throughout the whole of the railway system.

(e) Food and Agriculture. Existing land now occupied by the Armed Forces, together with any remaining neglected areas at present uncultivated, should be developed with the object of producing as much of the country's food supply as is humanly possible. Such development will be subsidised.

Industry

The party favour the maintenance of full employment within the framework of an expanding economy. They believe that a struggle for markets is not an inevitable consequence of the expanding economy since real demand is always ahead of supply.

One of the primary duties will be to give economic expression to this demand, particularly by extending credit to the governments of those countries where human need is greatest.

The ultimate aim will be the common

ownership of the means of production and distribution.

While it will be necessary for basic policy decisions to be made at a national level, the dangers inherent in a bureaucratic organisation are recognised. The party believe the best safeguard to be the decentralisation of control of the day-to-day administration of industry, giving the individual worker a voice and a share in the responsibility of this administration within a comprehensive scheme of industrial democracy.

Legal and Administrative

The legal and administrative system of the country will be revised, recognising the dignity and value of the individual and the sanctity of human life.

Capital punishment will, of course, be abolished.

A law will be introduced to make compulsory the holding of a national referendum, when a certain specific number of either the electors or the elected representatives request it.

The principle of heredity should be excluded from the Second Chamber (or House of Lords).

A system of electoral representation will be introduced, which will enable minorities to be adequately represented.

Minority parties will be ensured of broad-cast rights at election times and the amount of the deposit for Parliamentary candidates will be reduced to say, £50, with an increase in the number of assenting signatures required to, say, 50.

Education

Education will be provided without charge, irrespective of parents' incomes, from the age of five upwards. This education will cater for the spiritual, intellectual and physical needs to the age of 16, and, if it would benefit the pupil or be of service to the community, further education, full-time or part-time, should be provided in universities, training colleges, technical colleges, commercial colleges, evening classes, etc. Adequate allowances to cover this education and expenses should be made especially when the student is not living at home. No one should suffer financially for qualifying himself or herself fully up to a bachelor's degree.

While education should enable the full peaceful development of pupils' personality and abilities, provided these do not result in interference with the liberties of others, it should also indicate the necessity of constructive service to the family, village, town, county, country, and world.

It should in no circumstances include training in the use of weapons, or war preparations including civil "defence."

Talking of books . .

New directions
in teaching

By Robert Greacen

The Teaching of History, UNESCO: Paris. 1s.
British Distributor: H.M. Stationery Office.
The Story of My Life, by M. K. Gandhi.
Navajivan, 4s.

Gandhi's First Struggle in India, by P. C. Ray
Chaudhury. Navajivan, 4s.

THIS UNESCO pamphlet is a survey of methods of teaching history today. E. H. Dance, an English schoolmaster, contributes an introductory essay entitled "A Comparative Survey of History Teaching."

"One of the most fundamental changes in educational outlook during recent generations," writes Mr. Dance, "has been expressed in this way: that whereas teachers formerly taught subjects, nowadays they teach children." This change in emphasis has, he maintains, been reflected in history teaching.

There are many ways of looking at the past and learning from it. If the teacher chooses the way of smug, patriotic self-satisfaction—"we were always right, they were always wrong"—the pupil will hardly grow up to see his country's history in any kind of true perspective.

Objectivity; the incalculable of values; tolerance for other cultures, religions and political systems: these are surely the qualities we ought to look for in history teaching.

As Mr. Dance observes:

Emphasis on international understanding and co-operation . . . does not infringe the claims of national loyalties. . . . In a world which is becoming increasingly unified by material progress, neither culture in general nor history in particular can afford to be merely national or regional.

Included in the pamphlet is an official guide, country by country, to what ought to be stressed in history teaching. This UNESCO publication should interest teachers and lecturers in general; specialists in history will find the bibliography extremely useful.

The Navajivan Publishing House in Ahmedabad has now brought out an abridged, school edition of Gandhi's THE STORY OF MY LIFE, complete with grammatical exercises and subjects for essays. Admirers of the Mahatma might care to consider this volume as a possible gift for their own or their friends' children. There is a good frontispiece photograph of Gandhi.

In the history of the Satyagraha Movement for Indian independence the Champaran was the first of Gandhi's struggles on his return from South Africa in 1915. Here he was successful in freeing the peasantry from the harsh impositions of the indigo planters.

Mr. Chaudhury has had access to a number of original documents in the archives of the Bihar Government. He shows how this victory for non-violent resistance was the first milestone on the way to Indian self-government; and we are again reminded of the obstacles Gandhi had to face from Indians and British alike.

It would be interesting to know what information (if any) about Gandhi's life and work is being given to children in our schools.

A Hamburg newspaper, Die Andere Zeitung, published a long article surveying the state of the law in 20 countries on the right to refuse military service. It was written by Dr. Th. Michalschew of the Hamburg War Resisters' International Section.

"No," says Gene Sharp—"there is no alternative to non-violent revolution"

Mrs. Wynne-Tyson is right that attempts to bring about major social changes by violent methods produce new evils. She is also correct that the persons who advocate social changes should differ fundamentally from the evils they oppose, and that the worth of each individual must be respected.

However, there are several points in her article with which I must take issue.

The author's position seems to be that the solution to the world's problems lies simply in each individual reforming himself. This is a comforting conception but it does not answer the question of how a person copes with a society permeated with social institutions which perpetuate and actively promote evil.

Can one, trying to become a good person, not struggle against those institutions and groups which oppress and exploit men, persecute them because of skin colour or beliefs, conscript them to murder, jail men in the guise of reforming them, impose alien and tyrannical rule on them, and prepare to annihilate mankind in atomic war? Is not an exclusive concentration on one's own purification an escape from fulfilling one's moral responsibility? Is it not one's responsibility to seek to bring about fundamental (i.e. revolutionary) changes in society and thus to help free oneself and others from the grasp of a decadent civilisation? If one does not do this, is he not betraying both his basic values and his fellow men? It is clear that when Mrs. Wynne-Tyson refers to revolution she means violent revolution.

CONSCIENCE AND THE CALL-UP:
YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWEREDThe Conscript becomes a
Conscientious Objector

I have just completed my National Service, and have become a conscientious objector. I do not wish to be recalled at any time for military service, and am prepared to face a Tribunal if necessary.

Can you tell me to whom I should write to notify the authorities about my new position, and what would be the procedure for me in the event of a further call-up or a state of emergency?—T.B. London, N.

"ADVISER" writes:

THE conscript's liability under the National Service Acts is for two years' whole-time service and a maximum of 60 days' part-time service during the subsequent three years and a half.

If "T.B." really has completed his National Service (i.e., if it is 5½ years or more since he was conscripted), then his only remaining liability is for recall in the event of an emergency at any time up to June, 1959. This was an additional liability imposed by the Navy, Army and Air Force Reserves Act, 1954.

When this Bill was going through the Commons, Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, secured an assurance from the government that, if there should be such a recall, reservists who claimed to have become COs would be allowed access to the tribunals without first being court-martialled (see below).

Many reservists who are in this position have felt it right to inform the Record Offices that they cannot be relied upon for any further military service.

Liability for Reserve training

If, however, "T.B." has only finished his whole-time service, he has to face the problem of his liability for part-time training.

The National Service Acts make no provision for objecting on grounds of conscience at any stage later than submission to medical examination, except in the case of a man who has at some time been registered as a CO but has nevertheless been called up.

The serviceman who is in that position has a statutory right to apply to the appellate tribunal for conscientious objectors if he disobeys an order, claiming that he does so on grounds of conscience, and is court-martialled and given a sentence of three months' or more military detention or civil imprisonment.

He may apply to the tribunal as soon as the sentence is confirmed and while he is still serving it, and the tribunal can recommend the Service Department to discharge him or to transfer him to non-combatant duties.

As a concession, the balance of the sentence (if any then remains) is remitted.

If the application is unsuccessful the sentence must be completed, and it is, of course, possible for the court-martial to pass a sentence of more than three months. If the sentence is of less than three months, then the soldier has no right to apply to the tribunal.

This is a legal right, but there is an exactly similar arrangement (referred to by the Service Departments as a "concession"), of which advantage may be taken by any serviceman, whether he is serving whole-time or simply liable for training as a reservist. It operates in just the same way, with the exception that the tribunal is in these cases simply advising the Service Department and has no power to register the man in the Register of COs.

Questions on conscientious objection and the call-up are welcomed. They should be addressed to "Adviser," Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

This means that "T.B." will have to spend at least two or three months persuading probably reluctant officers to court-martial him, and waiting either in detention or in prison for the privilege of appearing before a tribunal.

Naturally, the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors is not satisfied with this and has in fact mobilised a considerable volume of opinion against such a wasteful procedure.

A deputation organised by the CBCO and including several non-pacifists made representations to the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Labour nearly two years ago and put forward some good reasons for abandoning the "qualifying" court-martial sentence.

These, however, were not sufficient to dispel the frankly-expressed fear of the authorities that, without such a safeguard, the door would be open to "shirkers and scumshankers."

Clearly, they have no faith in the ability of the tribunals to discriminate between these and the genuine COs, nor in the inherent attractions of the Services themselves.

A few weeks later, a Bill was introduced in the House of Lords, the effect of which would have been to dispense with the court-martial. It was rejected by 39 votes to 12, after a debate which was quite remarkable for the inaptitude of some of the contributions from the Government benches.

So the National Service Acts still make no provision for any development of conscience

IS THERE AN ALTERNATIVE
TO REVOLUTION?

"Yes," says Esme Wynne-Tyson

THERE can hardly be two words with which we are more wearisomely familiar and surfeited today than those of Revolution and Counter-Revolution.

For two hundred years, ever since the French used the evil means of bloody revolution in the hope of obtaining social justice, the Western world has been hypnotized and plagued by this squirrel-cage pattern which has now spread to the farthest corners of the earth.

Evils of Revolution

This method of meeting material force with greater force has not only culminated in two world-wars and the present age of naked violence, but also in the degradation of Western civilization. The Industrial as well as the Bolshevik Revolutions entailed the abandonment of quality for quantity and the degeneration and materialisation of the populace whose present day demands for cars, mechanical household gadgets, cigarettes, stimulants, drugs, and unending "circuses" in the form of radio, films and television have resulted in the present tyranny of scientific materialism.

And this has come about because people have been obsessed by the notion that the squirrel-cage pattern is inevitable, that revolution can be met only by counter-revolution, forgetting the alternative that has always been preached and practised by the greatest seers of the human race, including the most modern of these, Gandhi—that of the evolution of the individual man to a higher and better species.

to build a new social order. He combined a saintly life with efforts to effect basic social changes. He united the "religious" and the "political."

Gandhi took the age-old philosophy of non-violence and developed social techniques which forged it into a weapon for fighting evil—not an other-worldly or abstract evil, but the evil which human beings face, both in themselves and in their society. He developed an approach of which Mrs. Wynne-Tyson is apparently not aware—that of non-violent revolution.

This approach avoids both (1) the betrayal of a just cause by either violence or petty reformism and (2) the escapism of permanent withdrawal from efforts to effect social change, to allegedly attain purity. It includes respect for the individual and emphasises his improvement as well as the need to change society. It provides the means by which unarmed people with fearlessness can battle tyranny and develop the self-reliance which will enable them to combat the developing robot-like conformity which the author justifiably fears.

Serious study is needed to assist the application of such an approach in our society.

The adoption of such non-violence involves such fundamental changes in society, individuals and the methods of effecting social change that it can be accurately described by no term less than "revolution." Indeed, the crisis of our time is so severe that there is no desirable alternative to a non-violent revolution.

IN THE SHELTER



This is one of many pieces of sculpture by Max Sokol, refugee from Hitler's Germany, which have been shown in London recently.

"In the Shelter," is a symbolic interpretation of the war mother sheltering her children. "The horror on her face," writes a critic, "is not for herself, but for the coming generation, and even in that desperate awareness there is a determination to go on living and to make the world a place where civilisation can safely progress."

after a man reaches the age at which he is called up—unless he is then a CO and later decides to accept military service. This event is carefully provided for in the Acts and does not necessitate an appearance before a tribunal. The Army will take his word for it!

Revolution has never been advocated by the truly wise members of the human race, but only by the reformer of whom the great and pacific sage, Lao Tze, wrote: "(he) is a plague and a pestilence, destroying things as they are and not staying to build up where he has destroyed." The seer goes on to describe the alternative, evolutionary method in the simplest possible terms: "Let every man begin with his own conduct, and reform that, and when everybody succeeds, the world will need no further reformation."

Reformer—a plague

Buddha, Isaiah, Plato, Jesus, Paul, Shankaracharya, and, more recently, Gandhi, all taught precisely the same thing, knowing perfectly well that without this spiritual purgation, unregenerate man must inevitably go from bad to worse, as he undoubtedly has. Concentration camps, total war, Hiroshima, juvenile and other delinquency, scientific irreverence for life with its ruthless experimentation on man and beast, all bear awful witness to this fact.

The pacifist, therefore, who seeks a way of witnessing to his faith by some revolutionary means without first adopting the way of evolution, is merely following the discredited age-old pattern and being entirely unrealistic. Having Gandhi's example to guide them, pacifists have less excuse than others for such obtuseness. He did not profess to teach anything new, but his philosophy contained the quintessence of the truth of all the major world-faiths, every one of which teaches, in some form, the necessity for the evolution of mankind. "In our present state," he said, "we are according to the Hindu doctrine, only partly human; the lower part of us is still animal. Only the conquest of our lower instincts by love can slay the animal in us."

Combating animal nature

It is to this conquest that the true pacifist is called if he is really to be a witness to his faith.

The distinguished French scientist, Lecomte de Nouy, was in perfect agreement with Gandhi as to what must be done if man is to evolve. He wrote in HUMAN DESTINY:

"The animal struggle against nature . . . the 'struggle for life' from which the human form finally emerged after ten million centuries is transformed into a struggle against the remains of the animal within him. But from now on, because of his conscience, it is the individual alone who counts and no longer the species."

Here the recognition of the importance of the individual, so alien to the philosophy of the materialists, comes from the scientific mind as clearly and positively as from the mind of a Gandhi, a Paul or a Jesus.

Revolution is the natural method of animalistic man who can only think in terms of physical force; evolution is the method of homo sapiens. It is also obviously the one alternative to the two great materialisms, Marxist philosophy and Western Technocracy. And unless men, a great number of men, recognise and accept the evolutionary necessity, and grow at least into the stature of a Gandhi, they stand in very grave danger of de-volving to the status of the robot or the ant—a fate predicted as long ago as the '30s in the prophetic plays by the Brothers Kapek, R.U.R. and THE INSECT PLAY—under the pressure of total scientific materialism towards which the world is, at present, undoubtedly drifting.

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One hot afternoon in La Touraine, w bent "Knight of th share our food wit was a powerful n mahogany club, a We shared.

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"The Soviet to provoke an a This was a stran co-existence."

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We would be m statesmen could made for peaceful 12 months.

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DIARY

Monday, BIRMINGHAM: 7 AM. 26. Met welcome. PPU.

Wednesday, BELFAST: 8 p.m.: 11.15. Norah Dougl Bore. FOR.

Thursday, LEYTONSTONE: 11.15. Miss M. Simcox. LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15. 6. Endsley "Non-violence and S

Friday, J LONDON, W.11: 1.15. Michael Steph work there. Questions. NEW ELTHAM: 1.15. The Grosvenor Fell The Challenge of t What Politics. PPU.

Sunday, J LONDON, W.11: 1.15. 11 a.m.: Lee Service conducted an inside Peace."

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Friday, J LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15. 11.15. 6. Endsley "Non-violence and S

The man with the club

THE more we age, the more we accumulate lost opportunities.

One hot afternoon, years ago when tramping in La Touraine, we were hailed by a recumbent "Knight of the Road" who invited us to share our food with him. We were tired. He was a powerful man, armed with a carved mahogany club, and looked very determined. We shared.

After the meal our obliging friend paid for his victuals with the story of his life's history. Encouraged by a sympathetic full stomach, he wept copiously while deploring the treachery of mankind. "Nobody trusts me," he wailed, "although all through life I have been willing to extend the right hand of friendship." When we pointed out that his club was tied to his right wrist, he replied that as it was one of the legs from the bed on which he was born, he could not be parted from it. "It was," he said, his "spiritual talisman."

This was our first practical demonstration of deterrents.

This dormant recollection was revived by the BBC's apology to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in fact, did not say—as one might have gathered from "Any Questions" (Light)—"Communism must be subdued, even to the extent of using the H-bomb."

His Grace's actual statement was: "I believe that every deterrent to Communism—even the H-bomb—is good, so long as it deters. When it is used it becomes absolutely useless—as useless as a volcano which wipes out life."

Alas! The faith of the Christian in Christ is not enough; it must be strengthened by the sacramental H-bomb. The Archbishop, however, is not as consistent as our old friend the tramp, for though he is prepared to rely on the spiritual threat of total extinction to deter Communism, there is no trace of protest from him against the supply of arms by the West to the Tito Communists.

It is too late for regrets. We should have told our fellow Lotus-eater of the great spiritual future which awaited him if he would but come to England. And yet... is it possible he did come?

★

By and large 1955 was a year of progress. Mutual abuse and distortion moderated, though there was a last-minute to scrape the boot of the old car and transfer to 1956 much political and diplomatic junk which makes the going heavy.

Sir Winston Churchill, no longer at the wheel, intends to drive from a back seat. A disturbing occupation which forecasts a Foreign Policy based on the ethics of duodenal ulcers.

His rebuke to Russia in his message to the Primrose League, "News" (Home), is typical of the campaign expected for 1956:

"The Soviet leaders have done their best to provoke an arms race in the Middle East. This was a strange interpretation of peaceful co-existence."

No word of our arming the Arab States, the US offer to supply Egypt with arms in place of Russia, the provocative Baghdad pact, our bribe of arms to Jordan and Iraq, the supply of fighter aircraft to West Germany and the augmented arms programme for NATO.

We would be more convinced if any Western statesmen could cite one practical proposal made for peaceful co-existence during the past 12 months.

The decision of the USSR to reduce expenditure on her armed forces by ten per cent, during 1956, is already discounted. We had, on the authority of the BBC American correspondent, "News" (Home), that "it is received with scepticism." Wonderful folk, these correspondents. Within minutes of an important announcement they can give the balanced opinion of 150 million people.

DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Monday, January 9

BIRMINGHAM: 7.45 p.m.; 3 Wentworth Rd., Otton. 26. Members mtg. Newcomers welcome. PPU.

Wednesday, January 11

LEAFST: 8 p.m.; Friends Institute, Frederick St., Norwich Douglas, M.A. "The American Scene." FOR.

Thursday, January 12

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Miss M. Simcox, "The Third Way." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shephard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. "Aspects of Non-violence" (conclusion). Ron Keating, "Non-violence and Social Change." PYAG.

Friday, January 13

LONDON, W.11: 7.30 p.m.; 19 Pembroke Villas. Michael Stephenson on Berlin and his work there. Questions, TVSP.

NEW ELTHAM: 7.45 p.m.; 42 Dominic Drive, New Eltham, S.E.9. Ronald Mallone, "The Challenge of the Fellowship Party in British Politics." PPU.

Sunday, January 15

LEE: 11 a.m.; Lee Rd. Methodist Church. Service conducted and sermon by Ronald Mallone, B.A. "New Year Resolutions must include peace." PPU.

Thursday, January 19

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Dick Shephard Ho., Elsie Pracy, B.Sc. "The Problem of Germany." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shephard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Gene Sharp, "The Challenge of the Fellowship Party in British Politics." PYAG.

Friday, January 20

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. (refreshments from 7 p.m.). Friends International Centre, 10 Tavistock Square, Reginald Reynolds, "The Foundation of Imperialism." Chair: J. Allen Skinner. Peace News Lecture series.

Pacifism and politics

I WAS very interested in Ivan Geffen's "Open Letter to the Fellowship Party." This question of pacifism and political parties is an extremely important one. My own view is that to work within existing parties can be very useful and effective, but we should recognise its limitations and apply our main efforts elsewhere. On the other hand, the formation of pacifist parties seems to me a most unfortunate misdirection of energy and enthusiasm—not because a multiplicity of small groups is necessarily bad, but because, at the present stage, a political party is quite the wrong instrument for our purpose.

I can understand the desire to "get at" the general public, but there are lots of more effective, though less spectacular ways of doing this than by putting up parliamentary candidates. For a small party these efforts are necessarily sporadic and very expensive; the candidate will probably lose his deposit and, unless he is famous already, the general public will dismiss him as "another of these cranks."

I think for a long time we must concentrate on the specific issue which is after all our special and characteristic message: the complete renunciation of military power and its replacement by constructive peace making. We represent something like one per cent of public opinion, and our first task is to convert that one per cent into two per cent, and then into three. Only when a large body of public opinion has been converted to this principle

LETTERS

will the time come for creating a new, fully fledged political party which will be required to put the principle into political effect.

ALAN LITHERLAND.

16 Harlech Rd.,
Blundellsands, Liverpool, 23.

IVAN GEFFEN alleges that "the Fellowship Party with its emphasis on Christian standards... goes out of its way to make full membership difficult, if not impossible for non-Christians."

That this "difficulty" and "impossibility" is imaginary, is demonstrated by the fact that members of the Executive of the Fellowship Party include five non-Christians and that an agnostic is one of three candidates for the vice-chairmanship of the Party.

Non-Christians, Christian pacifists (of whom I am one) and ex-servicemen have worked together harmoniously for months in the Executive and in various policy sub-committees.

In fighting by-elections in 1956, we shall welcome, as Ivan Geffen and I welcomed in South Lewisham in the General Election, the support of pacifists and non-pacifists in returning to Parliament men and women pledged to act and vote on moral and Christian grounds. If he will join with us, he will find no authoritarianism, but tolerance and a

AROUND AND ABOUT—by Minnie Pallister

A new monthly Peace News feature
Introduced by the author

MAY I wish everyone a Happy New Year, though we know only too well that it will be anything but happy for many folk. Your Editor has asked me to write of some of the things I notice as I go about the country, something about the people I meet, and the activities of those who are working in one way or another for a better world.

The tragedy of war has always been that it has not been fought, or even started by, wicked, selfish and ruthless men. Wars have been fought by good people—idealists, who thought that they were crusading, by lazy people who didn't think at all, by frightened people, by religious people. There are so few really ruthless people in the world compared to the merely careless and ignorant ones.

Looking back on the years since 1914, when I first joined an anti-war movement, many questions fill my mind.

Why, since all ordinary people want peace, is the world still an armed fortress?

Why are people so afraid of the word "Pacifism," and is it our fault. Have we failed to put the case for Pacifism convincingly?

Why do the international organisations, from which we hoped so much, fail us?

Why is the Church not with us?

Have we stressed the economic basis of war too much?

What should be our attitude to politics, the welfare state, the Church?

IT is many years since I said on Socialist platforms, "We solve problems, only to create further problems." Every new piece of social legislation, for which we strove, has produced its own crop of new problems. More money, leisure, travel, education, have often failed to produce the good life for which we long. Still less have they produced a peaceful world.

IT is a great relief to turn away from world issues and revel in beauty, as I am privi-

leged to do. Beauty of sea and country, beauty of human character.

Perhaps I am apt to see life through rose-coloured spectacles. I have been singularly fortunate. Until very late in life I never met the seamy side of politics, the self-seeking, the longing for office. These did not exist in my time.

I came into a political movement which was a spiritual crusade led by saints and heroes. I was privileged to work among a wonderful band of conscientious objectors during the first world war, when men dared all for their Faith, and when thousands of ordinary men and women gave every moment of their spare time and spare money to the cause of peace.

I was privileged again to fight a constituency where hundreds of devoted followers poured out all they had, giving unstintingly without counting the cost. They were great days.

And now again I am privileged to stay in many homes where ordinary folk do their work as to the Lord. Out of the limelight and unknown they bear the burdens of the aged, the orphaned, and the sick, finding joy in doing good.

I hope each month to share some of this beauty with "Peace News" readers as I go ROUND AND ABOUT.

[Minnie Pallister writes again on
February 3.]

WEEK END WORK CAMPS

IVSP teams work each weekend
in Southwark cleaning and re-
decorating homes of old people.

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR PEACE, 19, PEMBRIDGE VILLAS, LONDON, W.11

January 6, 1956—PEACE NEWS—5

variety of opinion and a wealth of good fellowship.

Our policy is being worked out carefully by various policy sub-committees, which recently issued an Interim Statement of Policy. As prospective Fellowship Party candidate for West Walthamstow, I expect to contest the seat on that policy.

No one in the Fellowship Party claims "a monopoly of ethical principles"; but Christian and non-Christian members alike are pledged to work for a system of government which will give expression to the Christian and moral conscience of all believing these values to be of paramount importance in Government. We place loyalty to Christian and moral standards above sectional and personal interests and we shall try to assist the spreading of these standards.

RONALD S. MALLONE.

141 Woolacombe Rd.,
Blackheath, London, S.E.3.

Celtic Civilisation

WITH reference to Mr. E. S. Tew's letter (December 23) concerning the INTERNATIONAL GUIDE TO STUDY CENTRES; his name was attached to this because he sent it for review, and was presumed to be the legal publisher in this country, although it was Belgian in origin.

Reference books would produce names of at least a dozen centres or institutes devoted to the study of Celtic civilisation, but without recourse to them I would suggest: The Board of Celtic Studies, Cardiff (there are probably similar bodies in Ireland, Scotland and Brittany), The Cambrian Archaeological Association, Aberystwyth, The Honorable Society of Cymmrodorion, London, and the Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

YOUR REVIEWER.

A pacifist Bishop

I AM very much interested in seeing an article in PN, December 16, on "Basutoland." This is a new diocese in the Church of England, and the man appointed for the first bishop (Rt. Rev. J. A. A. Maund—Ed. PN) has been a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship for many years.

ELINOR PARKER.

90 Peckham Hill St.,
S.E.15.

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THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leicestershire.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

SITUATIONS VACANT
PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Daytime and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD HILL 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4.

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FORECAST FOR 1956

naturally interested in diverting world resources from war-instruments to machinery for development.

Secondly, the religious background of many of these states inclined them towards a conciliatory and peaceful attitude.

But as time goes on, and particularly as the economic and political power of these ex-colonial areas grows, they will doubtless begin to exhibit all the tendencies of power-states—in fact in the Middle East already there is plenty of evidence of this.

The task of peace-minded people from now on, therefore, will be to encourage these increasingly influential Asian and African nations along the road of moral, rather than political power. They are probably the world's last hope for intelligent, speedy peace-making.

The future of new nations

How can that best be done? By promoting, wherever it is possible, vocal support for the genuine peace activities of these states, and no less vocal protest when they seem to be slipping.

But ultimately it is not possible to prevent the new nations of Asia and Africa from becoming power-states, simply by verbal disavowal. If the structure of the modern power-state is there, then all the protest in the world will not prevent its coming into being, with consequent disastrous results.

Basic to any movement which hopes to keep them on the path of peace will be a political and economic outlook that seeks to eliminate the causes of war at root by creating what would be essentially a non-violent society in those countries.

None of the existing systems of government or economics in any of these territories can be held to be non-violent in nature. But because they are yet in an early stage of

political change, there is greater possibility of their being moved in that direction than is the case with nations in the West.

On them, in the world at large, the peace-maker, if he is realistic, will base his hopes in 1956. The struggle against colonialism will loom even larger in the coming year. Names unheard of will begin to appear in the newspapers—Oman, Somaliland, Togoland—as more peoples come into prominence in their rise to freedom. Newly-free states like Libya, Cambodia, Gold Coast (this year) will have their say.

There will be more knocking on the doors of the United Nations—and more people inside willing to let the newcomers in.

Red China will knock again, and probably be heard this time. There may be a re-shuffle in the Security Council taking it out of the exclusive control of the big powers.

If this happens, and the Bandung nations come into their own in the UN, then 1956 will see some steadier, if not so spectacular strides to peace than the year just gone.

Often the indirect way of tackling a problem is the best way; not infrequently it is the only way.

It begins to appear now that the only sure way of dealing with the deadlock between Russia and the West, is not through Washington or Moscow, but via Delhi and Accra.

NEW HOPE FOR THE HUNGRY

FROM PAGE ONE

born would die before they were one year old.

"I know a village in which there has not been a single first birthday for any child during ten years: the babies have died; a village where to be 35 is to be a very old man indeed, and probably to have suffered many crippling diseases during that very short life.

"If you walk down the streets, as I did some months ago, you are surrounded by hungry, ragged and naked children; you avoid looking in their faces; you avoid seeing their hands stretched out for food, because you know that there is not enough food to go round. You see families, as I have seen them, living in filth and squalor with their animals, if they are lucky enough to have animals at all.

"Since we had breakfast, 2,000 people have died of starvation, more than 2,000 families have been bereaved; there are 100 million hungry people throughout the world.

But today, for the first time the man on the other side knows that there are others living happier lives, continued the speaker, he is in a hurry to catch up. "And mark you, a man with only 35 years of life is a man in a hurry. He is desperately anxious to learn. Ignorance isn't bliss any longer."

Turning to the credit side of the picture, the speaker continued:

"There are in the world 36 billion acres of land. Only one tenth is used. A large part of the earth's surface is bare rock or is in the frozen North; there are 12,000 acres of desert with neither spring nor grass, there is the man-made destruction due to selfishness and faulty methods which has contributed to the poverty and degradation of the land.

"But the conquest of this bad land is not now just a matter of research; we have reached the point where success is certain; we have the living facts; abundance can be created if enough men want it."

He spoke of the under-water food, at present less than one hundredth part of the food of man.

He told how, in Ceylon, where 60,000 people depended on fishing for a living and where the catch was only half a ton per year (compared with Iceland's 38 tons) four small motors had been put into four small fishing boats. In six months the fisherfolk had got themselves out of debt, had started co-operatives and created a new community life.

Calder

FROM PAGE ONE

same stage in knowledge quite independently of each other, and had drawn the same conclusions. An American had remarked "It is nice to know that nature is the same on both sides of the Iron Curtain."

"If only the spirit of that Atoms for Peace conference could get into the Assembly of the United Nations, then this world of ours would not need to fear one tiny little bit," he concluded.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Land Gift appeal

I AM on the point of launching a Bhoo-dan Appeal in connection with my book SAINT ON THE MARCH.

This Appeal, which has the blessing of Vinoba, will attempt to raise money for the purpose of tools and equipment needed for the sinking of wells in villages that have come

The Disarmament Myth

I am not a reader of Peace News, but a friend has passed to me your New Year article. While appreciating your sincerity as a pacifist, I cannot but believe that to follow your suggestion of disarming would only have the effect of encouraging aggression, just as Britain's disarmament between the two world wars encouraged Hitler in his aggression.

—Correspondent, January 2, 1956.

THE conviction that this country disarmed to a point of dangerous military weakness before the Second World War is widely held, and has been encouraged by successive Governments, determined upon an armaments race with the Soviet Union.

It is true that during the long drawn out discussions held by disarmament commissions year after year, in preparation for the final disarmament conference of the League of Nations in 1932, there was from 1930 to 1931 a truce to the production of armaments, agreed to by fifty-five nations, including Britain.

It must be recognised, of course, that a truce to the making of armaments is not at all the same as disarmament. There was no disarmament, and the figures of Britain's expenditure far from showing any reduction, show a steady increase from 1933 when the disarmament conference finally broke down with the withdrawal of Germany.

Moreover, if it were true that Hitler was encouraged to attack in 1939 because this country was weak, it is exceedingly strange that he not only made the Munich agreement, thereby giving a full year's grace for rearming (a respite that Chamberlain did in fact devote to that purpose), but allowed another whole year, the year of the "phony" war, to elapse before he attacked this country.

If it were true that we were disarmed and militarily weak, a Dictator who had been encouraged to go to war on this account would scarcely be expected to allow a gap of

two years while any lagging behind in the armaments drive was made good.

That Hitler may have believed Britain would fight alongside of him against Russia is a much more likely supposition than that he deliberately gave us a chance to build up our armaments and man the breaches (if there were any) in the fortress walls.

Now, my correspondent does not say that he believes it wrong to disarm, but simply that he believes it to be inexpedient. I have therefore, been arguing so far on grounds of military expediency, not upon grounds of right or wrong.

It is the view of pacifists that it is right morally, to disarm whatever the consequences of such an action might be; but there seems little doubt that it would also be expedient to do so.

Great armaments must, of necessity, be a provocation to any great Power, and Russia undoubtedly feels itself threatened by the nuclear weapon arsenal built up by the West in just the same way as the West feels itself menaced by the millions of Russian men under arms, and the guided missiles and atom and hydrogen bombs alleged to be in the possession of the Soviet Union.

So long as this rivalry in war weapons continues, so long will each side believe the other to be a potential aggressor. It was for this reason that I suggested, in my New Year article, that it is futile to expect Russia to refrain from criticising this country, when so much time is spent by the West in criticising the Soviet regime.

Theirs is not our system, nor is it our way of living, and we do not want that system here, let alone that it should be imposed upon us. But we cannot alter the Russian system by threatening the Russian people with annihilation; such provocation merely acts as an excuse for propaganda against us.

It is not easy to believe that any nation could possibly want, let alone plan, a nuclear weapon war, but so long as the weapons are there, the ghastly fear remains.

To lay down the means of warfare, voluntarily repudiate such means, far from encouraging aggression, would inspire trust; instead of suspicion, induce goodwill instead of illwill, and arouse hope instead of despair. On all counts, political or military, it should be worth trying; on moral grounds it is the only answer.

MUSTE

FROM PAGE TWO

many should be brought forward by so important a political figure as Osten Unden is highly important.

It is a new reminder that the problem of a Third Camp of "neutral" or uncommitted peoples will not dawn so long as the trend toward polarisation in two dominant blocs abounds. The problem of creating a force not bound to any sort of military bloc pattern is bound to keep raising its head every time a new situation develops in the international scene.

Osten Unden's article, as summarised in the US press, also reveals the failure to date of the leading Socialist parties and elements to work out a sound programme for meeting this need.

Unden is perfectly correct in pointing out that the insistence of Western powers on "free elections" in Germany and on "Germany's right of self-determination was something less than altruistic or unselfishly democratic," and when he opines that the West would not be so enthusiastic for "democratic practices for Germany if West Germany might decide to align itself with the East!"

Independence must be won

But when he gives the impression that there may be a substantial proportion of altruism or something of the sort in the Soviet attitude on German unification and seems to think that the Kremlin would lend a ready ear to a "reasonable" proposal, he shows that he suffers under the illusion that unification and the status of neutrality are boons which the dominant powers may and should bestow on Germany, in other words, that they can conceivably bring a Third Camp into existence.

It seems to me the "beginning of wisdom" for Socialists in this matter is the realisation that the essential characteristic of a Third Camp is independence and that independence, in this as in all other instances, is something men and nations win, not something bestowed on them as a Christmas present.

There are indications that Mendès-France and French Socialist Party leader, Pierre Commin, were aware of this in a debate with French Communist Party leader, Jacques Duclos, in Paris on December 27, in which the former rejected a United Front with the latter.

This is encouraging.

More letters appear on page five

EDITOR

under Vinoba's movement. I have already started such an appeal in America with the help of Chester Bowles—with moderately successful results.

I wonder if any of your readers would be willing to give me secretarial assistance once or twice a week in the evenings from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. or some comparable time? He or she would need to have shorthand-typing and to come to our office in Central London where a typewriter is available.

I would be glad to hear direct from any of your readers who felt able to help.

HALLAM TENNYSON.

Gurneys, Holwell, Nr. Hitchin, Herts.

Congratulations

HEARTIEST congratulations to you on your production of the outstandingly excellent Christmas Number of Peace News. Cover and contents are splendidly effective—a perfect literary "Christmas hamper."

Also I wish to express to Mays my keen appreciation of his fine cover decoration. It inspires, it invites, and shows the way.

E. E. BRISCOE.

Littlecote, Hever, Kent.

COURAGE TO DISARM

FROM PAGE ONE

a member of the Bagdad Pact and a recipient of US military aid.

She deprecated the kind of neutralism which played one side against the other for its own advantage and the kind which sacrificed moral principles, but said: "If it could be possible for a nation to remain really neutral it would be best. It is not right that small nations should have to choose between one bloc or the other."

"The idea that we have the right way of living and we are going to force that way down everyone's throat if we have to do it with an atom bomb is wrong."

"Throughout the centuries might has been right. Only now we are beginning to realise that is wrong."

In the discussion groups run by the students there was very strong feeling in favour of disarmament. The majority of "political" groups decided in favour of a "supreme effort" being made to disarm by international agreement. But one group out of the 15 decided unanimously in favour of Britain disarming completely as a lead to other countries. There were minorities for this viewpoint in other groups.

As usual the Communists gave away and sold various publications outside the Conference, but this year the activities of the new Joint Youth Committee Against Conscription captured the imagination of the delegates.

Each day they published the "Conference Reporter," with reports of the preceding day's speeches and articles against conscription. Written by George Craddock, MP, Ian Dixon of the Pacifist Youth Action Group and Phoebe Merrick, Secretary of the Committee and member of the Labour Party League of Youth. Leaflets were also distributed.

An anti-conscription meeting was held on Friday by the Committee. The speakers were the Rev. Ronald Redman and Ian Dixon.

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Tickets obtainable at 6d. each from the Education Secretary, L.C.S. 34, Tavistock Square, W.C.1. (Delegates from interested organisations will be particularly welcomed.)

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